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ABSTRACT

The approach to improving the socioeconomic condition of women in rural Morocco is based on the premise that the family is the key social unit. Women, as the effective pillars of that unit, will automatically benefit from government sponsored family programs. The Moroccan woman's access to food, water, fuel, medical care, personal safety, and rest has been improved through food subsidies, nutrition programs, programs to improve potable water distribution, and an expanded paramedical and medical delivery system. Non-formal education programs are training agricultural women in modern methods of food production and processing. A cadre of women extension agents is being trained to communicate with rural women. Regarding vocational education, the Moroccan government is now more aware of the need to broaden women's range of marketable skills to include traditionally male skills. (RM)

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DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN?

THE 1981-85 MOROCCAN PLAN CONSIDERED

Prepared for

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ABSTRACT
for a panel on

Development for Women?
The 1981-85 Moroccan Plan Considered.

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Human resource imbalance exists within and across countries in the Middle East. In Morocco urbanization has outdistanced industrialization without the sufficient agricultural development to accommodate satisfactorily the rural-urban migration. Faced with the double problem of 45 percent of the population under the poverty line ($250 per year) and 46 percent of the population under 14 years of age, plus a 20 percent unemployment rate, the Moroccan Government has readdressed itself to the task of increasing the size and productivity of the industrial sector and the agricultural sector. The Government recognizes the necessity to develop income and work opportunities for its youthful population: women as well as men.

This paper addresses the income generation programs being pursued by the Moroccan Government to increase the skills and job opportunities for women and girls in the rural areas. Women constitute presently 15 percent of the labor force. Thirty-seven percent of the female work force are in the agricultural sector. These figures underestimate, of course, the unremunerated and uncounted work performed by young girls and women. For instance, in 1971 only one percent of those below 15 who were not economically active were in school, in contrast to the urban areas where 32 percent of those not economically active below 15 were in school. Only 8.2 percent of the women in Morocco over 15 years of age were literate in 1971. The figure is much lower for rural females over 24: no more than two percent, in contrast to urban females who had a 32 percent literacy rate.[1]

The 1981 Five Year Plan calls for rural as well as industrial sector development including economic and educational opportunities for women.[2] Examination is made in this paper of the specific programs within these general goals designed to enhance the skills and opportunities for women in the labor force. I will identify the particular agencies and organizations promotive and responsible for implementation of such policies and examine objectives and goal realization. Elucidation of the forces contributing to and against program formulation and implementation may lead us to concentrate on those crucial factors requiring special attention for resolution.

Data for this paper is gathered from a Fulbright-sponsored research trip to Morocco March to July 1982. I anticipate obtaining more up-to-date statistics than what is presently available in United Nations Demographic Yearbooks.

[1] See Saad Eddin Ibrahim's monograph Population and Urbanization in Morocco, Cairo Papers in Social Science, Volume 3, May 1980, p. 20.

[2] See Hind Nassif, "Integration of the Moroccan Female in the Development Process: Obstacles, Strategies, and Recommendations," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington D.C., November 1980

RESUMEN

PARA UNA MESA REDONDA

El Desarrollo y la Mujer?

Existe un desequilibrio de recursos humanos en el interior y a tráves de los países del Oriente Medio. En Marruecos la urbanización ha sobrepasado la industrialización sin el desarrollo agrícola suficiente para acomodar de una manera satisfactoria la migración urbana-rural. Frente al doble problema del 45 por ciento de la población que vive bajo la línea-límite de pobreza (250 dólares por año) y del 47 por ciento de la población con menos de 14 años de edad, además de un desempleo del 20 por ciento, el gobierno marroquí vuelve a dedicarse a la tarea de aumentar la proporción y la productividad del sector industrial como del sector agrícola. El gobierno reconoce la necesidad de desarrollar las oportunidades de ingresos y de empleo para la juventud: mujeres tanto como hombres.

Esta ponencia ha de tratar los programasde generación de ingresos que preconiza el gobierno de Marruecos a fin de aumentar la capacidad y las oportunidades de trabajo para las mujeres y las jóvenes del sector rural. Las mujeres constituyen en el momento actual el 15 por ciento de la fuerza laboral. El 37 por ciento de la fuerza laboral feminina se encuentra en el sector agrícola. Estas cifras no incluyen, desde luego, el trabajo no remunerado o no contado hecho por las muchachas y las mujeres. Por ejemplo, en 1971 sólo el uno por ciento de las menores de quince años economicamente inactivas asistían a la escuela, en contraste con los sectores urbanos donde el 32 por ciento de las menores de quince años economicamente inactivas asistían a la escuela. Sólo el 9.4 por ciento de las mujeres de Marruecos de mas de quince años de edad sabían leer y escribir. La cifra es mucho más baja para las mujeres rurales de más de 24 años: no sube a más del 2 por ciento, contrastado con las mujeres de las zonas urbanas cuyo nivel de alfabetización alcanzaba el 32 por ciento.[1]

El Programa Quinquenal de 1981 fomenta el desarrollo en el sector rural tanto como en el industrial e incluye oportunidades económicas y educaionales para las mujeres.[2] Hemos de examinar en esta ponencia los programas específicos dentro de estas metas generales dedicadas al mejoramiento de las capacidades y de las oportunidades para las mujeres en la fuerza laboral. Hemos de señalar en particular las agencias y los organismos promovedores que son responsables de llevar a cabo las políticas y examinar los propósitos y la realización de las metas. Elucidar las fuerzas en pro y en contra de la formulación de dichos programas y su ejecución puede conducirnos a concentrarnos en los factores cruciales que requieren atención particular para su solución.

Los datos de esta ponencia se han reunido en un viaje de investigación en Marruecos patronizado por la Comisión Fulbright entre marzo y julio de 1982. Esperamos obtener una estadística más al día de la que es asequible en la actualidad en los United Nations Demographic Yearbooks.

1. Ver la monografía de Saad Eddin Ibrahim: Population and Urbanization in Morocco, Cairo Papers in Social Sciences, Vol. 3, May 1980. p. 20.
2. Ver "Integración de la mujer marroquí en el proceso de dessarrollo: obstáculos, estrategias, y recomendaciones," ponencia presentada en el Congreso Anual de la Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C. Novembre 1980.

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INTRODUCTION

What does development for women mean to Moroccan policy-makers? And what do we, as students of development, mean by the phrase? I would like to suggest that it means creating the social, economic, and political conditions for women to control their own destiny. The resources involved promote women's physical health, economic well-being (e.g., income, credit, technological opportunities), and social well-being (e.g., access to knowledge, power, and prestige.[1]

Is this meaning shared by Moroccan policy-makers? Are women among these decision-makers? If so, are their concerns articulated in the national development goals? Is there a clearly expressed concern for the female 50 per cent of the population? Or are the women merely subsumed under the general development of the nation's resources, of achieving a better balance between industrialization and agricultural production and reducing social disparities?

Urbanization has outdistanced industrialization without sufficient agricultural development to accommodate satisfactorily the rural-urban migration. Faced with the double burden of 45 per cent of the population under 14 years of age and 45 per cent of the population under the poverty line ($250 per year), plus a twenty per cent unemployment rate, the Moroccan Government has readdressed itself to the task of increasing the size and productivity of the agricultural sector as well as the industrial sector. A glance at the statistics comparing the urban and rural populations' socio-economic situation will show that women in the rural areas continue to be the most neglected group in Morocco in terms of education, health, and employment status. To date the training facilities and health services have favored the urban areas.

What is the current actual focus of the Moroccan Government in its development program, as reflected in the 1981-85 Economic and Social Development Plan and discussions with Moroccan government and non-government women's organizations? I argue here that there is yet to emerge a clear concern for women, particularly rural who nevertheless still provide the majority, though uncounted, agricultural labor. One can identify, however, a few glimmerings of increased awareness of the poor rural women's plight, but within the context of socio-economic categories of "the disadvantaged" classes, such as mothers, the handicapped, the illiterate, the poor. This orientation may be attributed to the urban bourgeois backgrounds of the administrative political

elite, particularly the women, the preoccupation with urban problems, and their basic conservatism. Compounded with this is the women's minority status within the government.[2] However, younger men and women with more heterogeneous backgrounds are rising to the fore in national politics, including rural notables who have benefitted from the Arabic-oriented schools of the Moroccanizing Ministry of Education. One can attribute, therefore, the growing concern about the social disparities to the tentative penetration by the "third generation" (educated after the 1956 independence date for Morocco from France) of the national elite.[3] Opportunities for education expanded considerably for both men and women under nationalist rule following independence--at least in the urban areas.

In the following I will identify and examine the governmental programs which affect or are designed to affect the women's socio-economic condition. The data is drawn from government sources[4] and articulated in the 1981-1985 Economic and Social Development Plan, and interviews with Moroccan women in government and non-governmental women's organizations. Also helpful were discussions with present and former AID consultants.

I will first offer a brief socio-economic profile of Morocco's rural and urban sectors, with particular reference to women, based on the latest available statistics.[5] Secondly, I will identify the government programs which address women's issues: the agricultural, health, and training programs. Thirdly, I will speculate for discussion on the relative prospects of the different programs.

The data for this paper was gathered in Morocco from March to August, 1982 under a Fulbright Grant for research on Moroccan Women's Strategies for Development, and focused on women in leadership positions. This paper, then, is to be considered only as a preliminary study for further investigation by the author.

The "Rif" and the "Medina" Scenes

Employment

Vanessa Maher has provided us with a detailed picture of the role women play in agricultural production which is not provided by the other socio-economic studies on agriculture and which can be confirmed by travel in the countryside. The year-round division of labor between men and women is the following: from January to February the women feed the animals, and from March through April harvest the pulses and weed the wheat while the men sow the maize. From May through June the women cut the hay and lucerne and winnow the barley, while the men harvest the barley and wheat with hired hands (Ishawal). In July and August the women cut hay and lucerned, winnow the wheat, and pick fruit of the orchard owners while men irrigate the lucerne and thresh wheat with the Khammes (seasonal laborers). Come September, the women cut hay, maize, strip cobs and transport the stalks--a backbreaking task--whereas the men cut maize and plant beans, chick peas, thresh maize, and plough. From November through December the women feed and collect the cobs while men manure and flood the fields. In cases where the women are widows, divorced, or otherwise without male relatives, they perform much

of the labor usually done by men such as threshing maize or wheat, unless she can afford hired help.[6] In other words, women perform at least 60 per cent of the agricultural labor, mostly as unpaid family help. Where mechanization has occurred this relieves men's but not women's work and in certain instances has deprived women from income. For instance, women are the major small producers of dairy products and provide between 15 and 20 percent of the milk to a cooperative near Tetouan. They also produce and market on the roads a very good sheep's milk cheese. Large scale dairying, however, is performed and controlled by men.[7]

In the urban areas, the industries which have employed women are the textiles and food production enterprises, thus exploiting their traditional homemaker roles: the 98 per cent of the wool industry female employees are in the apprentice/specialized worker categories, 40 per cent of them being apprentices and ordinary unskilled labourers.[8] Women without specialized training find jobs as domestic maids: 25 per cent of working women's employment in the urban areas.[9]

One should keep this picture of women's real activity when one reviews the statistical data indicating women's participation in the labor force and their educational and health conditions, as well as the programs designed to improve women's condition.[10] Women's participation in agricultural areas, for instance, is suggested by figures on economic participation, educational attainment, school attendance, and marital status.

In the rural sector employed women constituted 12 per cent of the employed population in 1971. While 16 per cent of the

economically active rural women were employers and self-employed, fifty-seven per cent of the women were unpaid family workers and this represented 24 per cent of the total in this category. Unemployed women in the rural areas, however, increased in number from one per cent in 1960 to five per cent in 1971, and from one per cent of the total rural unemployed to twelve per cent in the same period. Those unemployed women who have already worked increased considerably since 1971 and approach the figure for men's unemployment: 37 per cent of the unemployed women had worked before compared with 47 per cent of the men.[11]

Concentration of land ownership, resulting from government policies to develop an irrigation system but with a laissez-faire approach,[12] has reduced the number of farmer employers and has increased the number of landless peasants, and dependence upon unpaid family help. This proletarianization has served as a factor in the rural exodus, in addition to the prospects of employment and services in the urban areas, for men and also for women.*

Thus the economic burden has increased for women to provide for herself and her children as evidenced by the following:

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*In a study on migration, Nadia Youssef /"Women in Migration: A Third World Focus," prepared by International Center for Research on Women, Washington, DC for Office of Women in Development, Agency for International Development, June 1979, pp. 18, 67./ shows that outmigration from the rural areas is heavily male-dominated, particularly for the age groups between twenty and thirty-four. Females dominate the outmigration for the ages 15-19, since they are likely to be freer and can more realistically expect to find jobs--as domestic laborers--than can men.

women-headed households in the rural areas comprised 56.7 per cent of all women-headed households and in turn represented 15 per cent of the rural households. Over a third of these women were between 25 and 44 years old. Women constitute a slight majority of those married which suggests, in another way, their predominance in the rural areas. Indeed, 14 per cent of all women-headed households are headed by married women.[13] The relatively high number of young married women as opposed to married men in the rural areas also indicates the migration of married men to the urban areas leaving behind their wives to cope with the farming.

Divorced women comprised the substantial majority of divorces in both the rural and urban areas, the rate being higher (78 per cent) in the urban areas. In turn, divorced women and widows comprised 20 per cent and 13.3 per cent respectively of the work force in 1971. Most of the women-headed households (83 per cent) are headed by divorced or widowed women.[14] Moreover, 45 per cent of divorced women are employed, representing the highest activity rate among women according to marital status.[15]

Education

Compounding the economic burden for women in both urban and rural areas is their disadvantaged educational status. This problem is particularly acute in the rural areas. In 1971 only 13.2 per cent of the rural female population was literate compared with 24 per cent of the rural male population. This contrasts with the urban areas where there was a 31.9 per cent

literacy rate for females as opposed to a 61 per cent male literacy rate. Low female primary school enrollment in the rural areas is also indicative: four per cent of the 10-14 age group and 1.4 per cent of the 15-19 age group were in school in the rural areas. This represented in turn six per cent of the total age group enrolled in school in the rural areas.

On the other hand, in the urban areas 56 per cent of the females 10-14 years old and 26.4 per cent of the 15-19 age group were enrolled in school.[16] One can appreciate the low rural figure by noting that 38 per cent of the female age group 15-19 was married. Given the major housekeeping and fieldwork responsibilities alloted to women when they are married, not to mention their obligations to their parents prior to marriage, indicates the girls are no longer in school.

Ten years later, however, a somewhat improved picture emerges. Twelve per cent of the girls between 10 and 19 years were attending school in the rural areas.[17] In the Tensift areas (see Table I) which has an average of 79 per cent rural population, 52 per cent of the women are under 25 and 31 per cent of the women are attending primary school. In the Safi province with a 63 per cent rural population, only 18 per cent of the province's female primary school enrollees are in the rural areas. This represents some improvement over 1971 when there was 90 per cent rural illiteracy and 9.7 per cent of the females between 7 and 15 had schooling.[18]

The low attendance is compounded, however, by the high repeater rate which increases the unit costs of education: 79.2

per cent of the students remain at the primary level beyond the usual five years, 65.4 per cent do not finish their primary studies and only 24 per cent are promoted to the fifth year after the normal five years. Fifty per cent repeat this class. One-third are promoted to the secondary school.[19]

No breakdown for rural-urban categories and no breakdown by sex are made for repeaters and drop-outs, but one can infer from other figures that more girls drop out after or during the primary school: for instance in the heavily rural areas such as the southern province of Ouarzazate (99 per cent rural) eleven per cent of the female primary school enrollees are in the rural areas and they constitute 16 per cent of the rural enrolled. But in the secondary schools 11 per cent are female. Ouarzazate is one of the poorer areas as indicated by the low percentage of households with running water and electricity (49.1 and 49 per cent respectively according to the 1971 figures). In contrast, the figures are reversed for Tanger which is only 17 per cent rural and is relatively well off even in this area with 61 per cent of the households having electricity. Forty-two per cent of the primary school enrollees are girls, 10 per cent of these in the rural areas. And this record is maintained in the secondary school. These contrasting figures suggest the positive relationship between socio-economic conditions and school attendance. When families are poor they do not tend to send their daughters (or their sons) to school beyond primary school. The South ranked next to last in general primary school attendance and last in secondary school attendance whereas the Northwest,

in which is Tanger, ranks in the middle.[20]

Health

Health is another indicator of the imbalance in services between the rural and urban areas. Taking life expectancy first, there was some improvement over twenty years: from 45 in 1956 to 55 in 1978. Although the death rate per thousand went down from 23 to 13 and infant mortality decreased from 161 to 107, forty per cent of deaths still are in the infant mortality category. The rate is higher in the rural areas and affects infants in their first year particularly. Most of these deaths are attributed to infections and nutritional diseases, 35 per cent being gastrointestinal.[21] This is to a large extent attributable to the fact that 75 per cent of the rural population has access only to traditional water sources which are spreaders of disease.[22] Only five per cent have access to running piped water, 10 per cent to standpipes, and 10 per cent to community wells. On the other hand, 64 per cent of the urban households have water in their homes.[23]

The Moroccan Government has progressed somewhat in developing a health infrastructure, but its policy of favoring stationary health units rather than ambulatory units has not favored the rural population. In 1980 there was one physician per 51,335 in the urban area and one for 95,992 for the rural area; whereas in Egypt, which also has a rural-urban dichotomy and an overpopulation problem, there is one for every 1,050 and for oil-importing countries in general there is a 1 to 4,010 average ratio.[24] To illustrate this imbalance, one can cite the case of

the Southern Region, which is 82 per cent rural and includes provinces of Agadir and Ouarzazate and Laayoune. This region has 105 physicians for approximately two million inhabitants or ten per cent of the country's population. The North Central Region (Fes, Al Hoceima, Taza, Boulemane), with 88 per cent rural population and 12 per cent of the country's inhabitants has only seven per cent of the physicians. This region also ranks at the bottom of the seven regions in supply of doctors and fifth in supply of hospital beds. Only 8.6 per cent of the Health Ministry was serving 11.2 per cent of the country's population.[25]

In contrast, the Central and Northwest sections which include the two major cities Casablanca, the commercial center, and Rabat, the nation's capital, have 41 per cent of the population, but 52 per cent of the physicians and 70 per cent of these are in the Casablanca and Rabat areas alone. The Northwest ranked first in supply of doctors and second in hospital bed supply.

Even midwives, the traditional health practitioner for rural women, are few in number for the areas with high rural populations, according to the 1980 Recensement, although the Ministry of Labor claims there is one midwife for every 2500.[26] The Moroccan Government includes the midwives among the paramedicals and those who have the ASDES (Diplome d'Etat Specialiste) cover five per cent of the rural areas. Those with the ASDE (Diplome d'Etat) cover 20 per cent of the rural areas.

The Moroccan Government acknowledges this imbalance as caused by the fact that the average range of a rural health unit is 18.8 kilometers. The radius of the unit's domain ranges from

8.5 kilometers in the Northwest to 20.8 in the East.[27]

It is therefore not surprising that, for instance, although the number of pregnant women visits to health centers has increased from 109,244 in 1974 to 133,122 in 1979, the Government Plan admits that this number does not exceed five per cent of the total number of pregnant women. On the other hand, the number of women accepting birth control devices has increased from 5,865 in 1976 to 14,219 in 1979 for the IUD's and the number of acceptors of the pill has increased by 65 per cent to reach 105,261. The Moroccan Government estimates that the percentage of women accepting contraceptives is around 10 per cent, a modest figure given the country's current 3.2 per cent birth rate.[28]

Poor infrastructure and demographic growth and migration to the cities are the officially recognized reasons for the poor delivery of health and educational services. What measures have been taken in the 1981-1985 Plan to remedy these problems and improve the lives of women, as well as men, in the rural areas? What is being done to cope with the rapid urbanization and resulting urban unemployment or underemployment, which for women often means their resort to domestic service, low level jobs in factories where poor working conditions prevail, or prostitution, a rapidly spreading phenomenon?[29]

Government Response: The 1981-85 Plan

Confronted with riots in Casablanca in June 1981 which dramatized glaring social inequalities, the Government of Morocco addressed itself in the 1981-1985 Plan to the tasks of (1)

National defense and territorial integrity, (2) Economic revival with emphasis on agriculture, fisheries, energy and tourism, rural development, and reduction of food and energy imports, (3) Reduction of social and economic disparities through a program of job creation, among other measures; and (4) A policy of greater decentralization and promotion of development of the disadvantaged regions.

For Morocco, the need for rural development and for reduction in food and energy imports is of prime concern. Although the rural population still comprises the majority of the population, fifty-two per cent,[30] its contribution to the GNP has decreased from 23 to 18 per cent in favor of manufacturing (27 to 32), and more importantly the importation of food remains a costly necessity ($513 million in 1980 according to the World Bank Report), because of the unfavorable climatic situation in 1980-81 and increased demands brought about by urbanization, income and population growth. The Moroccan Government has thus focused on rural development and agriculture to increase production, encourage deconcentration from the crowded urban areas, and improve the socio-economic level of the rural agricultural sectors of the country and population.[31]

To rectify the social disparities, the stated goals are full employment, fiscal reform, a revenue and price policy, and development of the social infrastructure. To develop further the social infrastructure focus is on (1) education and training, particularly in the rural areas to reduce the inequalities in access to elementary education, improvement in vocational

training for school drop-outs or illiterate youth, (2) public health improvement, particularly for the most disadvantaged, and (3) housing with particular attention to improving the bidonvilles in the urban areas.[32]

For regional development, the objectives are to concentrate on better planning to reduce the regional imbalances which have favored the Casablanca-Kenitra axis, and to favor the rain-fed zones (the East, South Central provinces of Meknes-Ifrane and Khenifra, Northwest, and North Central regions). In the recent past, the irrigated zones have been favored to the benefit of large landowners. Programs to favor the rain-fed areas, where 51 per cent of the rural population lives and depends on livestock husbandry, and irrigated areas will benefit from pastoral improvement, extension and research development on seeds better adapted to aridity.[33]

Decentralization and deconcentration is intended to promote individual province initiative while cutting the vertical administrative "red tape" and encouraging horizontal coordination among the provinces, and improving qualitatively and quantitatively the human resources in the field offices.

How are these goals translated in the allocation of resources? We may gauge the commitment to these goals by comparing the investments in the social sectors and agriculture in the 1973-77 Plan, the 1978-80 Plan, and the 1981-85 Plan. In the 1973-77 Plan 53 per cent of the social sector budget and 21.5 per cent of the total budget was allocated to education and training. One result was a seven per cent increase in literacy. On the

other hand, health expenditures represented 11 per cent of the social sector allocation and 3.6 per cent of the total budget. During this period the number of paramedical personnel increased by twelve per cent but this did not ameliorate the delivery of services because of the population growth. The agriculture sector was allocated 18 per cent of public investment, but despite this fairly substantial proportion, production was far below its potential with pulses, vegetables, and cereals 40 per cent of the optimum.[34]

In the 1981-85 Plan the emphasis placed on agriculture is still clear as the following table indicates:[35]

Sector	% of Social Sector	% of Total Budget
Agriculture		17
Education	42	15
Public Health	6	2
Youth and Sports	2	1
Social Affairs and Handicrafts	3	1
National Development and Supply	46	17

Impact on Women

What do these goals and allocation of funds mean for women? "True national development cannot be realized fully without the utilization of women's potential," so advocated by social policy promoters in Morocco for several years.[36] However, few women can be counted in the top governmental policy-making positions. The Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Handicrafts have the only two women as Division Chiefs in the

government. The Ministry of Tourism has the highest share of women among their personnel: 38 per cent. The Ministry of Social Affairs, however, has only 16 per cent of its employees women and these are concentrated in the lower, "General Service" category. The Ministry of Youth and Sports comes second in the proportion of women in its ranks with 33 per cent of the total number of personnel female. The Ministry of Health comes a close third with 32 per cent of the personnel female. Both the Youth and Sports and the Health Ministries' women employees are concentrated in the lower ranks, as are the Ministry of Education's women.[37] The degree of feminization of the ministries thus corresponds to the traditional cultural norms of what is appropriate for women's endeavors: the socio-cultural sphere, which accounts for 74.81 per cent of the women employed in the public sector.[38] What then is the impact of the 16 per cent share women have in government?

The 1973-77 Plan had acknowledged women's "true role at home and in society." To this end, women's education was encouraged as a means to harmonize her traditional role in the home with changing conditions outside.[39] To what extent, then, has the 1981-85 Plan reflected any change or modification of this notion regarding the women's role and condition?

My discussions with women both inside and outside government elicited basically two attitudes which, upon reading the Five Year Plan, are reflected in the statements of goals and achievements. On the one hand, both men and women contended that while women's condition was not ideal, more important was to focus on the disadvantaged sectors of the population which included both

men and women and to preserve the family unit. On the other hand, women expressed a frustration with their socio-economic condition vis a vis men, and considerable interest was shown in discussing their condition in public forums and with outsiders.

In the two volumes of the Quinquinnat or Plan, I came across only a few specific references to women: in the section on Employment Development, the Plan authors noted the increase of women's activity rate in contrast to the men's rate which has decreased, and that this is particularly true for the urban areas. Further, the relatively low rate for women in the rural areas is attributed to the failure to take into account women aged 15-64 who have not declared, since the 1971 Census, their occupation as unpaid family workers in agriculture. Also, the urban female activity rate rise from 11 per cent in 1971 to 18 per cent in 1976 is noted as dominated by the young women aged 15-30 who have benefitted from socio-economic changes in the urban areas.[40] With the exception of the Ministry of Youth and Sports who have their Promotion Feminine, however, identification of programs focusing on women depends upon previous knowledge of those geared to women's development.[41]

The major ministries which have addressed themselves to rectifying women's disadvantaged position are the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Handicrafts, the Ministry of Public Health, and to a lesser extent the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, and the Ministries of Education, Interior, Tourism, and Labor. Since space and time are limited here, I will focus on the first four ministries

and identify the programs' achievements to date and the Five Year Plan's projects to continue these programs or initiate new ones, paying particular attention to how and if these programs address the professed development concern of the policy-makers.

The Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Social Affairs programs are different in their impact with the former more urban-based, whereas the Ministry of Social Affairs is more rural-oriented and therefore perhaps more in tune with the national objective of decentralization and regionalization. It also serves the more disadvantaged groups in the economy.[42]

The Ministry of Youth and Sports has perhaps the oldest program to address women exclusively. The target group of the Foyers Feminine Program is the 10-20 year old girls who have dropped out or never attended school. The Foyers' clientele is about 22,000 attendees, although a much higher figure of 45,000 enrollees has been given.[43] Of 336 centers, 228 are in the rural areas. The total has since increased to 340 as noted in the 1981-85 Plan.[44]

These centers are directed by "monitrices" and "assistant monitrices" who have a minimuum of Brevet (first cycle of the secondary school) level education and are recruited by competitive examination and supposedly receive an eleven month training course at the National Training Center, although apparently two-thirds of the 1,057 monitrices did not do so. Accorded civil service status, they are provided retirement and insurance benefits but are paid a starting salary of 1,000 Dirhams a month, 20 per cent less than primary school teachers receive.

The curriculum has been clearly geared to the traditional notion of appropriate women's work: the trainees are instructed in a three year program in the arts of sewing, nutrition, child care, and supposedly, literacy. The objective of the program never apparently was economic self-sufficiency for the women or integration into the economy, but simply to produce more educated and perhaps productive wives-mothers.[45]

However, the Foyers Feminine have made some attempts to offer specialized training to a select few who have completed their three year basic training and are motivated to enter the more highly skilled work force. For instance, they may compete for admission to the two-year program in hostelry run by the Ministry of Tourism, or train to be bilingual typists, high level dressmakers, or governesses.

According to one report some of these centers such as in Beni Mellal (92 per cent rural) and El Jadida (78 per cent rural) have developed interest in branching out into food production and processing of poultry and vegetables. There is thus some evidence that the trainees prefer learning a marketable skill and wish placement in an occupation upon completion of the program.[46]

The monitrices constitute a corps of unusually highly motivated and competent personnel, despite their lower salaries and longer hours than those of the primary school teachers. The job security and fringe benefits of the civil service status, however, are bonuses which attract far more applicants than can be accepted. Moreover, they have been found to serve as role

models for trainees who indicated to observers that they aspired to be monitrices and that the idea of employment following training was attractive.[47]

The 1981-85 Plan reiterated the concern for the women in the rural areas, in particular pregnant women, nursing mothers, and disadvantaged women. It also took note of some of the problems of insufficiently preparing the trainees for the modern economic sector and called for "the revision of social-educational programs to assure the woman an adequate training and enable her to enter the different sectors of the economy." Furthermore, the Plan called for the close coordination among the different departments concerned with the woman's condition: Social Affairs, Youth and Sports, and Public Health to increase the efficacy of the programs. Moreover, to fulfill the objective of decentralization, the Foyers Feminine and Children's Homes are to be programmed by the local authorities, although financed by the Ministry.[48]

The Plan calls for the restoration of twelve Foyers and the completion of two new ones at Tetouan (66 per cent rural and 54 per cent agricultural) and Safi (63 per cent rural and 66 per cent agricultural). Indeed, the Foyers slated for repair were found to be in a bad state.[49] Two million Dirhams ($42,620) are appropriated for the new ones.[50]

The Plan noted that four of the seven Foyers programmed in the 1978-80 Three Year Plan have been completed: in Al Hoceima, Beni Mellal, and Oujda--all primarily rural areas. The fourth is in Tanger which is primarily urban. Three others are

scheduled for completion in primarily rural areas.

The priority of the Promotion Feminine in the Ministry's budget is indicated, however, by the proportion of funds allocated in the 1978-80 and 1981-85 Plans, despite its claims that it recognizes the "importance of Promotion Feminine as a means of integrating women into the economic and social development of Morocco.[51] Promotion Feminine was allocated four per cent in contrast to Sports Centers which were awarded fourteen per cent of its 183,865,000 Dirhams ($1,484,336.30 at the then exchange rate of 5.65 Dirhams to the dollar). The 1981-85 Plan's allocation awards .3 per cent of the Budget to Promotion Feminine, and 85 per cent to Sports![52]

On the other hand, more commitment to Promotion Feminine projects to increase the employability of women was demonstrated at the local level by the small core of dedicated and aware delegués (the Ministry representatives at the province level). Their enthusiasm was shown in their initiation and implementation of projects and subsequent presentation to the Ministry headquarters as faits accomplis for funding. Others were overburdened or preoccupied with other duties and yet there were officials of different ministries, enterprises who exuded concern for income generating opportunities for women in their regions.[53]

The small amount of funds allocated to Promotion Feminine in the Plan may be attributed to the dependence on foreign sources for financing, specifically U.S. AID which had launched the Non-Formal Education Project with the Ministry of Youth and

Sports in 1978 with the New Transcentury Foundation as the contractor and an authorized $4.3 million. This project was cancelled, however, in December of 1981 by A.I.D. for "failure to achieve project targets."[54] This project suffered poor management, starting with incomplete and inaccurate information and continuing with misunderstandings developing among all parties to the project as to objectives and financial obligations.[55] The losers are once again the intended beneficiaries: the disadvantaged women.

The Ministry of Social Affairs and Handicrafts, a recently created ministry joining the Entraide Nationale and Social Security, has developed another set of organizations to address the disadvantaged women.

The Entraide Nationale developed the Ouvroirs (Centres d'Education et du Travail) to reach the poor women by building on the informal charity system of helping out widows by providing materials with which they could produce handicrafts at home and then market them through charities or individual patronage. Assisted by A.I.D., seven Ouvroirs opened in 1973 and grew in number to 264 in 1975 and 382 today which serve 80,000 legally poor girls (from families with income below the poverty line) who are between 8 and 22 years old in the rural and slum areas.

The monitrices are not as systematically selected and are more likely to be volunteers from the centres' neighborhoods or alumnae of local Ouvroirs. Their role seems to be more supervisory than instructive, given their lack of specific training as teachers.[56]

The Centres have conformed to the principal goal of regional control and thus are responsive to local conditions. One of the innovations has been the establishment of marketing cooperatives attached to the Ouvroirs which provide the graduates a place to work upon graduation. This has been adopted by some other Ouvroirs.

One of the major incentives to the program has been the provision of food to trainee and the trainer: 100 lbs of flour and one gallon of oil per month. The recent decision by A.I.D. to reduce this incentive was a grave disappointment to the officials of the program. A.I.D. thinking, apparently, was the need to "save" money and the need to develop other incentives rather than the "crutch" of food. Rather it had the reverse effect of traditional families withdrawing their daughters from the program and putting them to work as maids.[57]

The Nutrition Education program administered by the Ministry of Social Affairs in their Centres Educatifs and aided by the U.S. Food for Peace Program deserves note also in its impact upon the roles of mothers. Food and nutrition education is provided at these centers which care for 300,000 children aged 2-5 and their mothers (150,000). This represents 11 per cent of the families living below the poverty line ($260 per annum), and six per cent of all malnourished children under five. The food aid accompanying this nutrition education is a ration of 45 kilograms annually per child enrolled and a maximum of three rations per family. The instruction of the program is provided by graduates of the Nutrition Institute in Marrakech who are women from

villages with social education centers, many of whom had been involved with these centers as administrators. The impact of this program has been noted to reduce substantially malnutrition among the child participants (by 12 per cent) and there is considerable demand for admission. The program has expanded to 300 centers and is said to have reduced malnutrition by 69 per cent nationally. The Ministry of Social Affairs thus committed $4.7 million when it assumed responsibility for the program.[58]

Again, the focus seemed to be on preparing the trainee to be a skilled wife-mother in the arts of sewing, knitting, but also literacy. However, there was growing realization of the need for more marketable skill development, which was more evident in the Ouvroirs than the Promotion Feminine of the Ministry of Youth and Sports. Such skills of hairdressing, construction, and typing are taught in some centers. This commitment is in line with another one of the major components of the Ministry of Social Affairs: the Handicraft Training Center.

The Handicraft Centers address themselves to both sexes from all socio-economic strata, but they do concern themselves with training girls who have dropped out of school at primary or secondary level, encouraging cooperatives, providing credit, and finding market outlets for women. These centers provide women training in tapistry and embroidery in 85 centers. Thus the Handicraft Centers are more vocationally oriented than the Ouvroirs in that they provide more marketable skills. But the graduates of the latter can join the handicraft cooperatives, which gives them facilities but not training.[59]

The 1981-85 Plan reported the achievements of the Ministry of Social Affairs: 80,000 beneficiaries of the Ouvroirs, 11,400 beneficiaries of the Handicraft Cooperatives, 450,000 beneficiaries of the Nutritional Education Program. But also noted is the establishment of the Institute for Social Workers which opened in the Fall of 1981 at Tanger with A.I.D. assistance, 13 new centers for vocational training grouping four workshops and the development of a literacy campaign strategy and a document organizing the Ministry of Social Affairs.

The budget for these new projects indicates considerable commitment to the Ouvroirs program: 20 per cent of the Ministry's budget is allocated for these centers, another 20 per cent to the campaign against begging, 13 per cent against illiteracy, and two per cent for the Extension of the Nutrition Institute at Marrakech.[60]

This fairly substantial appropriation made to the Ouvroirs is perhaps to make up for the past dependence on private donors. The rapid growth of the Ouvroirs, attributable to this voluntarism of energy and resources and the key food aid component has, in turn, placed greater demands on the program. Hence the substantial share of the budget of a very new ministry to an established network of centers, which has responded to young women's demand for marketable skill training.

Agricultural Reform

In her recommendations for expansion of non-formal education programs in Morocco, Nadia Youssef noted the need for training agricultural women in modern methods of food production and

processing. To this end is the necessity of training a cadre of women extension agents to communicate with rural women. As Youssef notes, and is later testified by the Moroccan policy planners, this training of rural women is crucial in the country's effort to improve agricultural productivity, particularly those of small farmers and create more part-time jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the rural areas. Suggested areas of food production and processing are poultry raising and marketing, dairying (producing milk products and marketing them through cooperatives), and processing of vegetables and fruits, meats and fish.[61]

The 1981-85 Plan acknowledges the importance of extension work among farmers and called for a major reform in the extension service which would place emphasis on dissemination of information through cooperatives rather than administer or market inputs.[62] To staff the extension services, the 1978-80 Plan had called for the recruitment and training of 3,387 agricultural technicians and engineers. The 1981-85 Plan claims that 90 per cent of this target figure has been produced.[63]

But do these agents reach women agriculturists since male agents do not communicate with women farmers? There are women extension agents but the following numbers are instructive: in 1979 there were a total of 43 women out of 3,239 field personnel in the specialist category, and 16 out of 198 in the Central Administration. Among the technical personnel 48 out of 1866 adjunct technicians (Level 7 or the starting professional level), 5 out of 363 applied engineers in the field offices, and 7 out of

212 agricultural engineers (Level 11 or the highest non-political level in the civil service). Total: 66 women. In all, the women constitute eight per cent of the Agricultural Ministry's employees, the largest share being at the "common cadres" (lower administrative level): 22 per cent of this cadre being female and 85 per cent of the female employees.[64]

There is some evidence that there is growing acceptance of the idea of including women farmers in male courses. In Beni Mellal a few of the Promotion Feminine Centres, as we have seen, have had agricultural training and are eager to initiate production of poultry.[65]

Plans are to correct this gender imbalance in order to reach women farmers, although this is not mentioned in the Plan document. Apparently the Moroccan Government has concluded an agreement with FAO and IBRD to implement its stated concern of integrating rural women into the economy. Perhaps with the development of this program, the planned vertical extension programs of 1500 demonstrations, and 2100 sessions on particular techniques and 900 sessions per year will include women in the target population.[66]

Health for the Rural Woman

As has been indicated, considerable imbalance exists between the rural and urban health delivery systems which affects adversely the women and children and the national development goal of increasing productivity of the existing human resources. That is, if women are to participate in national development, they cannot be bearing children constantly because of the low

life expectancy of infants. Thus more resources must be spent on developing an adequate health care delivery system to reach the most vulnerable: the rural population.

The Moroccan Government expresses commitment now to a broad perspective to improve the health status of Moroccans by expanding the vaccination program and reducing gastroenteritis and diarrhea, improving sanitation, and including health education dissemination as discussed above, and improving the health delivery system.

At the close of the 1978-80 Three Year Plan period, 28 rural health centers, and 95 rural dispensaries were completed along with four urban health centers and twelve urban dispensaries. Thus the Government's goal of one health center for every 45,000 and one dispensary for every 15,000 was reached only to the extent that there was one rural health center for every 78,597 and one rural dispensary for every 18,157 inhabitants.

The 1981-85 Plan calls for the establishment of 53 rural centers, 54 rural dispensaries and 421 housing units for personnel. This will supposedly achieve a one per 54,000 ratio for rural health centers and one per 19,000 for rural dispensaries.[67]

These centers, however, will mean little if they are not staffed adequately. There is a critical shortage of auxiliary medical staff in the nursing and paramedical categories. This is a problem in many Muslim countries where these occupations carry low prestige. Yet this is an area that could provide considerable opportunity to women in the rural areas, particularly those who have not completed their secondary education beyond

that of the Brévet or first cycle.

The Ministry of Health has not helped the situation for paramedics as they are not accorded intra-grade mobility and benefits and are placed at the bottom of the scale in grade level at the start.[68] So, it is not surprising that only seven per cent of the vacancies for the adjunct health specialists, 63 per cent of the adjunct specialists with diplomé d'état, and 84 per cent of those with a Brevet degree and 44 per cent of administrative personnel were filled at the end of the Three Year Plan in 1980.

To correct this shortage in personnel, three nursing schools have been planned in Safi, Beni Mellal and Tetouan, a school for medical technicians in Marrakech, and a school for maintenance technicians at Rabat and a vocational school in Casablanca. The major allocation of funds is for the nursing schools, constituting 51 per cent of the training budget.

The 1981-85 budget of 1.18 million Dirhams for new projects indicates a two per cent allotment for health personnel training, 14 per cent for ambulatory medical service (the visiting nurse program), 15 per cent for health programs, and 36 per cent for hospital construction.[69]

Vocational Education

Finally, the Moroccan Government addresses the issue of vocational training. This kind of education will be expanded to include several ministries' training programs. The goal is that by 1985 375,562 will have been trained. Included in some of these programs are 20 mobile centers to reach the rural population and address agricultural mechanics, carpentry, welding,

machine maintenance. Are these vocational training programs recruiting women? The Plan does not mention women specifically except for the listing of the completion of more Foyers Feminine Centers with the appropriation of 67.19 million ($11,142,620) Dirhams for the Ministry of Youth and Sports for this and other centers or institutes. Indeed, as noted above, until 1979 women were not allowed in industrial and agricultural programs.

But with AID encouragement, a pilot program was established to train women at the Ministry of Labour's Industrial and Commercial Training Centers. The women are to have finished twelve years of schooling for construction design and business education and nine years of electricity, electronics, and industrial design. The graduates are guaranteed employment. Although the official Moroccan prediction was that women would not apply, the number of applications far exceeded capacity in the pilot program. The female enrollees are enthusiastic about learning these hitherto "male trades with better income possibilities. Coming from low income families, they were encouraged by their families to apply, their improved income opportunities needed by the family.[70]

Conclusion

This overview of the economic and social conditions of Moroccan women and the government's programs to address their needs indicates that the approach to women's needs is based on the premise that the family unit is the key social unit and that the emphasis to be placed in development programs should be on that unit. Women, as the effective pillars of that unit, will

supposedly automatically benefit from these programs.[71]

In assessing the improvement in women's economic and social condition one has to examine the efforts to improve her access to food, water, fuel, medical care, personal safety, and rest. One may conclude tentatively that the Government of Morocco has improved her physical well-being through access to food via subsidies, slightly improved through nutrition programs, and the programs to improve potable water distribution, and improving her access to medical care via expanding the paramedical and medical delivery system. In improving her income through training programs, the Moroccan Government is now perhaps more aware of the need to broaden women's range of marketable skills to include traditionally "male" skills, as a result of the emergence of the third generation of the national elite which is more socially conscious and has more women among its ranks.

It remains to be seen what these programs achieve given the still limited orientation of the professional policy-maker towards women as a separate group. But at least we do have here an official statement that "particular attention must be given to the problems of rural women as well as to certain categories of needy women: pregnant women, lactating women, and women of the disadvantaged social classes."[72] It will be interesting to see how the women in charge of these programs meet the challenge of addressing these problems with the limited financial resources awarded them.

Footnotes

[1]Ruth B. Dixon, Assessing the Impact of Development Projects on Women (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, May 1980), p. 55.

[2]Cherifa Alaoui El Mdaghri, "Le Travail Feminin: Cas de la Fonction Publique au Maroc," Memoire du Cycle Superieur, Ecole Nationale d'Administration Publique, Rabat, Maroc, soutenu en 1982. See also Malika El Belghiti, "The Case of Morocco," in Women and Development: Indicators of Their Changing Role (Paris: UNESCO, 1981), pp. 22-23.

[3]Mark A. Tessler, "Morocco: Institutional Pluralism and Monarchical Dominance," in Political Elites in Arab North Africa (London and New York: Longman, 1982), pp. 40-42.

[4]Volumes I and II, Direction de la Planification, Ministere du Plan et du Developpement Regional, Royaume du Maroc, 1981. Hereafter referred to as Plan or Quinquinnat.

[5]Morocco is currently conducting its decennial nationwide census. Several indices therefore are those from 1971 so they are not as useful as desired. Nevertheless one may glean a general picture based on the available figures.

[6]Vanessa Maher, Women and Property in Morocco (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 115-117.

[7]See Mona Hammam's "Labor Migration and the Sexual Division of Labor," MERIP (March-April, 1981); see also Esther Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), and Elsa Chaney, Emmy Simmons, and Kathleen Staudt, "Women in Development," Background Papers for the United States Delegation to the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, July 1979), pp. 105-142. See also First Report of New Trancentury Foundation on Project for Non-formal Education for Women in Morocco, Washington, DC: A.I.D., June 1980,which notes the female labor force being commonly recognized as 36 per cent rather than the official 11 per cent, p. 21.

[8]Malika El Belghiti, "The Role of Women in Socio-economic Development: indicators as instruments of social analysis," Women and Development: Indicators of Their Changing Role (Paris: UNESCO, 1981), p. 27.

[9]Mona Hammam, op. cit., p. 6.

[10]The policy-makers recognize the problem of accurately defining the "active population" (14-64 years), for it generally does not indicate the supply of jobs as it includes housewives, students,

etc., and excludes those between 7 and 14 years who are actually involved in production as family workers or apprentices in the handicraft sector. Plan, Vol. I, p. 222. See also Amal Rassam, "What Price Autonomy?, Women and Work in Morocco." mimeo.

[11]AID officials and International Bank for Reconstruction (hereafter referred to as IBRD), Morocco: Economic and Social Report (Washington, DC, 1981), Table I of Annex. See also Project Report by Amal Rassam, Laura Clyburn, Dorothy Young, on Social Services Project for Agency for International Development, 31 July 1979 where they cite 50 per cent of the women 14-25 are unemployed (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1976).

[12]Zakya Daoud, "Morocco's Troubles," MERIP Reports, (September 1981), p. 32, explains that the peasant, to take advantage of the investment opportunity provided by the government in the form of inputs, must have properly prepared land. The peasant must then improve the land by the modern means. If the peasant continues to farm as before, he or she is threatened with expropriation. The peasant is often forced to sell out to the big landowners. See also Mohia Souag, "L'Eau, Les Pommes, et L'Exode Rurale," Lamalif, No. 139 (Octobre/Novembre, 1982) p. 13; also Aais Marzouk Ouriachi, "La Campagne Marocaine: exploitation economique et marginalisation sociale-le cas du rif oriental," Al Asas, No. 46 (Octobre/Novembre, 1982), pp. 36-40.

[13]Office of Development Information and Utilization, Selected Statistical Data by Sex: Near East: Morocco (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1977), Appendix 14; and Nadia Youssef, Nancy Sadka, and Ernest Murphy, "An Evaluation of Non-formal Educational Programs for Women in Morocco," (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1976).

[14]Youssef, Sadka, and Murphy, loc. cit.

[15]Cherifa Alaoui el Mdaghri, op. cit., p. 14.

[16]Selected Statistics by Sex, loc. cit.

[17]Annuaire Statistique du Maroc, 1980 (Rabat: Direction de la Statistique, Ministere du Plan de la Formation des Cadres et de la Formation Professionelle, 1980).

[18]Plan, Vol. II, Part I, p. 164.

[19]Ibid., p. 167.

[20]IBRD, Morocco, p. 293.

[21]Plan, Vol. II, Part I, p. 164; see also IBRD, Morocco, p. 238.

[22]Country Development Strategy Statement, Agriculture Sector Strategy Paper, Annex I (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, January, 1982), FY 1984, pp. 3, 24.

[23]IBRD, Morocco, p. 258.

[24]IBRD, World Development Report, 1982 (Washington, DC: 1982).

[25]Annuaire Statistique, 1980.

[26]Nadia Youssef, Women and Their Professional Future (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, June, 1978).

[27]Plan, Vol. I, p. 167.

[28]World Development Report and Plan, op. cit., p. 170.

[29]Belghiti, op. cit.

[30]Plan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133.

[31]Ibid., p. 147.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Country Development Strategy, Agriculture, 1982, pp. 39-42.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Plan, Vol. I, "Tableau Recapitulatif General des Credits Budgetaires Prevus pur le Plan Quinquennal, 1981-1985." See also Country Development Strategy Statement, Morocco (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, January, 1982), FY 1984. p. 27. Latter source cites 1.7 per cent for Health and Social Welfare, but 20.7 per cent for Industry/Handicrafts/Public Works. What a lumping together!

[36]Agency for International Development Report in French in 1982.

[37]Recensement des Fonctionnaires et Agents de l'Etat (Rabat: Direction de la Reforme Administration, Ministere des Affaires Administratives, Decembre, 1979, 2eme Edition). The highest percentage was the Ministry of Professional Training with 44 per cent of its 800 employees female.

[38]Alaoui, op. cit., p. 36.

[39]Agency for International Development Report in French in 1982.

[40]Plan, Vol. I, p. 218.

[41]Nadia Youssef, Nancy Sadka, and Ernest Murphy, Non-formal Education Programs in Morocco (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1976) and discussions with Agency and Peace Corps consultants for the material on Promotion Feminine and Ouvroirs. Also I had discussions with Ministry of Social Affairs and Handicrafts officials, Spring 1982.

[42]Ibid.

[43]U.S. Agency for International Development Inspector General, "The Non-formal Education for Women Project in Morocco: Problems in a Host Country Contract," Audit Report: No. 0-608-82-47 (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, February 22, 1982).

[44]Ministere de l'Artisanat et des Affaires Sociales, "Apercu sur les Activities de la Femme au Maroc," (Rabat, 1982), mimeo.

[45]Youssef, Sadka, and Murphy, op. cit.

[46]New Transcentury Foundation First Report...Non-formal Education in Morocco, June 6, 1980.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Plan, Vol. II, Part I, p. 227.

[49]New Transcentury Foundation First Report, op. cit.

[50]Plan, op. cit.

[51]Report Morocco: Project 608-0157, "Social Services Training Grant, Original and Amended 1980-1981" (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1981).

[52]Plan, loc. cit.

[53]New Transcentury Foundation First Report...Non-formal Education in Morocco.

[54]Country Development Strategy Statement: Morocco op. cit.p.51.Also Audit Report on "Non Formal Education for Women in Morocco: Problems in a host country contract," 22 February 1982. "Short falls have been due in part to flaws in the Project Paper, which contained much wrong information, e.g., regarding the foyer program, Peace Corps participation, host country contribution and especially, about the desire of the PF management for staff training and administrative restructuring."

[55]Interviews with A.I.D. officials in Rabat, Spring 1982.

[56]Youssef, Sadka, Murphy, "Evaluation of Non-Formal Educational Programs for Women in Morocco," (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, 1976).

[57]Ibid, and discussions with A.I.D. consultants in Tanger, 1982.

[58]Judith M. Gilmore, Carol C. Adelman, Anthony J. Meyer, and Melvyn C. Thorne, "Morocco: Food Aid and Nutrition Education," Project Impact Evaluation No. 8 (Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, August 1980).

[59]Youssef, Sadka, and Murphy, op. cit.

[60]Plan, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 251-252.

[61]Youssef, Sadka, Murphy, loc. cit. Also see El Belghiti, op. cit. Also see New TransCentury Foundation First Report, p. 25-28.

[62]Plan, Vol. II, Part II, p. 58. See also pp. 240-242 for more detailed description of plans for expansion of agricultural education: the completion of five training centres at Missour, Ifrane, Tetouan, Errachidia, Laayone. The goal is to train 7,526 in the forthcoming five years: 7,526 including 1,748 Ingenieurs d'Application, 4,717 Technicians, 325 Agents Techniques. In a study of the Social and Economic Origins of the Institut Agronomique et Veterinaire Hassan II students graduated between 1966-1979 it was noted that women students have increased in number from two out of 240 in 1973 to 59 out of 600: 8 per cent to nine per cent of the total. The author notes that the small number is attributable to the long-held notion that agriculture as a field of study was a "man's field."(!) The author of this study is Ahmed Arif, "Origine geographique et sociale des etudiantes," (January, 1981, Annexe No. 1).

[63]Plan, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 240-242.

[64]Recensement des Fonctionnaires et Agents de l'Etat, op. cit.

[65]New Transcentury Foundation "First Report Non-Formal Education in Morocco..."

[66]The Moroccan Government was a party to the recommendations made at the Food and Agriculture Organization World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, in Rome 1979: that special recruitment and training schemes be developed to increase the number of women in extension services to make more accessible these services to rural women. Report of the Conference, p. 11.

[67]Plan, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 186-187.

[68]Youssef, Women and Their Professional Future.

[69]Plan, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 183-185.

[70]Samira Harfouch, "Non-Traditional Training for Women in the Arab World," The Bridge (AMIDEAST) Winter, 1980.

[71]Suzanne R. Morris, "Women in Development," The NFE Exchange Issue No. 13 (Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1978/3).

[72]Plan, Vol. II, Part I, p. 221.

TABLE 1: BASIC DATA SHEET

MOROCCO

Population Estimate, Mid 1981 (millions	21.8
Crude Birth Rate per 1,000	45
Crude Death Rate per 1,000	13
Rate of Natural Increase (annual %)	3.0
Number of Years to Double Population at current rate	23
Population projected for year 2000 (millions)	37.7
Infant Mortality Rate (Annual number of deaths to infants under 1 yr. per 1,000 live births	107
Total Fertility Rate (TFR)	6.5
Population under age 19 (%)	56.3
Population over age 64 (%)	3.4
Life Expectancy at Birth (years)	56
Urban Population (%)	39.3
Persons per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	107
Per Capita Gross National Product ($US)	900
Energy Consumption Per Capita	285
Food Production Per Capita	97 (100 = 1969-71)
Daily Per Capita Calorie Supply	107
Population Per Physician	10,136
Population Per Hospital Bed	774
Access to Electricity (% of Population)	68.4
Access to Safe Water	55.0
Radio Receiver per 1,000 population	83.0
Passenger Cars per 1,000 population	19.6

Sources: 1981 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau, Inc. and IBRD, World Development Report, 1982. (Washington, D.C., 1982)

Table 1: General Socio-Economic Profile by Province

	1980					1971		
	Popl*	%Rural+	Total Area+ sq. km.	%arable+ land	Ag. Density +	%holds * w/1-2 rms Rural	%holds * w/ running water	%holds* w/elect.
The South								
Agadir	958,000	96	17,460	17	241	61	38	62
Ouarzazate	599,900	99	46,480	17.8	636	67.8	49.1	49
Tiznit	344,500	82	6,960	16.6	242	58.8	53	66.7
Tata	108,500	100	25,925	.5	774			
Guelmim	95,400	72	28,750	.4	482	n/a	36	n/a
Tan-Tan	27,200	46	17,295	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Laayoune	n/a	n/a	39,360	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Smara			61,760					
Boujdour			100,120					
Oued Ed Dahab			50,880					
Total Region	2,038,900		394,990					
% of pop. 10		82%R						
The Tensift								
Marrakech	1,256,300	84	14,755	3.7	132	68.5	43.8	79.2
Safi	665,300	63	7,285	75.5	76	79.8	23	53.6
Essaouira	472,500	84	6,335	52.8	116	73.4	45	69.8
El Kelaa	552,600	85	10,070	53.5	89	67	21	44.8
	2,946,700=14 % of T	79% of R						

* Population figures from Annuaire Statistique, Government of Morocco, 1980

+ Country Development Strategy Statement, Agriculture Sector Strategy Paper, Annex I (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, January, 1982) Appendix I.

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	1980					1971		
	Popl*	%Rural+ 67%	Total Area+ sq. km	%arable+ land	Ag. Density+	%holds* w/1-2 rms Rural	%holds* w/running water:	%holds* w/elect.
The Centre								
Casablanca	2,357,00	5	136,600	77.9	108	78.7	66.4	77.3
Beni Mellal	591,400	92	389,000	48	115	73.9	22.9	57.4
Khouribga	438,700	49	215,300	50.4	101	80.4	28	56.8
Settat	710,100	77	544,480	58.7	95	76.5	41	52.6
El Jadida	718,500	78	556,200	89	104	80.4	32.3	62.9
Azilal	404,900	89	357,700	17.9	198	70.5	14	48.5
Ben Slimane	185,600	80	146,000	59.2	89	n/a		
	5,406,400= % of T= 2				110			
The Northwest ——— 53% R								
Rabat Sale	901,100	11	1,275	56.2		84.6	63.2	66.2
Tanger	390,800	17	1,195	46		92.6	42.4	61.3
Teouan	702,200	66	6,025	24.3		90.5	54.2	80.5
Kenitra-Gharb	1,228,700	65	8,805	58.4		77.2	54.2	62.3
Chaouen	307,400	84	4,350	18.5		82	64	86.3
Khemisset	438,700	78	8,305	43.5		92.8	31.1	41.0
	3,968,901 = 20							
The North Central ——— 88% R								
Fes	765,900	72	5,585	50		80.3	51.3	72.8
Taza	634,800	95	5,400	48.2		81.6	53.5	55.9
Al Hoceima	314,700	94	15,020	21.5		75.5	61.3	75.5
Boulemane	130,800	85	3,550	19.5		84	36	55.4
Taounate	576,300	97	14,395	4.1		n/a	n/a	
	2,422,500 - 12 % of T							

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	1980					1971		
	Popl.*	%Rural +	Total Area + sq. km.	%arable + land	Age. Density +	%hseholds * w/1-2 rms. Rural	%hseholds * w/running water:	%hseholds * w/elect.
The East	81%							
Oujda	450,00	75	20,700	15.3	107	86.3	54.7	67
Nador	627,700	97	6,130	20.8	401	71.5	48.2	64
Figuig	110,700	72	55,990	.6	216	93.3	79.9	67
	1,118,400 = 5.9% of T		82,820					
The South-Central ——— 75%								
Meknes-Ifrane	798,400	70	8,510	38.1	100	85.6	41.3	64.5
Errachidia	414,900	84	59,585	1.1	488	76.5	40.9	61.4
Khenifra	306,400	71	11,115	14.3	135	86.7	33.1	62.5
	1,519,700 = 7		79,210					

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